

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 00010 01 OF 02 030912Z

12

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1996

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 0010

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDIP, PINR, DA

SUBJECT: NEW DANISH AMBASSADOR'S VIEWS

REF: STATE 302931; COPENHAGEN 3826; COPENHAGEN 0004

1. IN ORDER TO GIVE SENIOR OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF OTTO BORCH, THE DANISH AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO THE US, I HAVE SUMMARIZED HIS VIEWS ON SOME KEY ISSUES AS HE EXPRESSED THEM TO ME EARLIER THIS WEEK (REFTELS).

A. NATO-EC RELATIONS: BORCH IS PROFOUNDLY PRO-ATLANTIC. HE STRESSED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT EUROPEAN DEFENSE DEPENDS ON THE AMERICAN UMBRELLA AND THAT A SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES IS "AN EXERCISE IN FANTASY". HE CONSIDERS NATO (AND NOT THE EEC) AS THE PROPER FORUM FOR DISCUSSION OF SECURITY MATTERS.

ANOTHER PRINCIPAL REASON FOR USING NATO AS THE FORUM FOR DISCUSSING EUROPEAN DEFENSE ISSUES IS THAT EEC DOES NOT ENCOMPASS SAME NATIONS AS NATO. DISCUSSION IN DEPTH OF SECURITY ISSUES IN EEC WOULD, IN BORCH'S WORDS, "FRAGMENT NATO" BECAUSE SOME NATIONS SUCH AS NORWAY, GREECE AND TURKEY ARE NOT INCLUDED IN EEC.

BUT BORCH IS ALSO A CONVINCED "EUROPEAN"; HE LOOKS TO EEC AS INSTRUMENT FOR GREATER ECONOMIC AND EVENTUALLY POLITICAL INTEGRATION, LEAVING SECURITY TO NATO. HE CHARACTERIZES  
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PAGE 02 COPENH 00010 01 OF 02 030912Z

HIMSELF AS "PRAGMATIC" EUROPEAN, WITH EACH ISSUE BEING

DECIDED ON ITS MERITS, RATHER THAN ON OVERRIDING PRINCIPLES.

BORCH THINKS THAT THE ENTRANCE OF DENMARK INTO THE COMMON MARKET HAS REINFORCED DENMARK'S ATTACHMENT TO NATO. THE DANES FEEL "SECURE" IN NATO AND DENMARK'S MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, WHICH IN THE 1960'S WAS A DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE, IS TODAY TAKEN FOR GRANTED AND IS NO LONGER QUESTIONED BY ANY OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN DENMARK.

B. DETENTE: BORCH EMPHASIZED HIS COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSEN'S STATEMENT THAT NATO MUST MAINTAIN STRONG DEFENSIVE POSTURE IN ORDER TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO RELAX TENSION BETWEEN THE TWO BLOCS. IN DISCUSSING HELSINKI AGREEMENT, HE POINTED TO THE LACK OF PROGRESS MADE IN IMPLEMENTING BASKET III. HE SAID THAT THE DISAPPOINTING PERFORMANCE BY SOVIETS HAS BEEN A USEFUL LESSON FOR SOME DANISH CIVIL SERVANTS AND PERHAPS EVEN DANISH CABINET MINISTERS WHO WERE OVERLY-OPTIMISTIC ON WHAT COULD BE ACHIEVED WITH THE RUSSIANS.

C. SPAIN'S RELATIONS TO NATO AND THE EEC: AS MANY OF HIS COUNTRYMEN, AMB BORCH IS SOMEWHAT MORE CAUTIOUS ON THIS ISSUE THAN DIPLOMATS FROM SOME OTHER COUNTRIES. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE EXECUTION OF BASQUE NATIONALISTS IN THE FALL OF 1975 SET BACK EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO SPANISH EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH WEST EUROPE. HOWEVER, WITH FRANCO'S DISAPPEARANCE FROM THE SCENE, BORCH BELIVES THAT DENMARK, AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES UNDER SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN GENERAL, MAY BE MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD DEVELOPING TIES WITH SPAIN THAN BEFORE. HE WARNED, HOWEVER, THAT THE TIME HAS NOT YET COME FOR THESE LINKS TO BE "ORGANIC". BY THE LATTER HE MEANT A FORMAL ASSOCIATION OF SPAIN WITH NATO AND THE COMMON MARKET. AS LONG AS THE SPANISH PARLIAMENT IS NOT ELECTED, HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES OF EUROPE TO AGREE TO ESTABLISHING "ORGANIC" RELATIONS WITH SPAIN.

ON THE OTHER HAND, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT NO DOMESTIC SETBACKS OCCUR IN SPAIN, HE THOUGHT THE TIME HAD COME TO MULTIPLY OFFICIAL CONTACTS BETWEEN SPAIN AND WESTERN EUROPE. FOR EXAMPLE, HE THOUGHT VISITS BY HIGH-RANKING SPANISH CIVIL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 00010 01 OF 02 030912Z

SERVANTS TO THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN WESTERN EUROPE WOULD RAISE NO OBJECTIONS AND COULD PAVE THE WAY FOR A CLOSER AND MORE FORMAL RELATIONSHIP IN THE FUTURE. HE OPINED THAT TO THE EXTENT THAT SPAIN PROGRESSES INTERNALLY TOWARDS DEMOCRACY, THE EASIER IT WILL BE FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC REGIMES OF WESTERN EUROPE TO ESTABLISH CLOSER LINKS WITH SPAIN. HE THOUGHT THAT DENMARK'S POLICY WOULD BE MORE CAUTIOUS THAN OURS AS CONCERNS LINKING SPAIN TO NATO. HE STRESSED THAT

HE WAS NOT BEING NEGATIVE ON SPAIN, BUT THAT HE FAVORS A SERIES OF SMALL, UNCONTROVERSIAL STEPS TO GET EUROPEANS ACCUSTOMED AGAIN TO WORKING WITH SPANIARDS. THIS IS BETTER THAN ASKING EUROPEANS TO JUMP ONE BIG HURDLE AT ONCE SUCH AS ESTABLISHING FORMAL ORGANIC LINKS WITH SPAIN. LATTER WOULD IN HIS OPINION RISK BEING REJECTED BY THE PUBLIC IN SOME EEC COUNTRIES IF ISSUE WERE BROUGHT TO A HEAD PREMATURELY. DIFFERENCE THAT MAY EXIST BETWEEN US AND DENMARK APPEARS TO HIM TO BE ONE OF TIMING RATHER THAN ULTIMATE GOAL.

D. NATO DEFENSE POSTURE: BORCH LIMITED HIS COMMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT TO THE POSSIBILITY OF THE STATIONING OF AN AMERICAN BRIGADE IN THE BREMERHAVEN AREA WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE DENMARK'S FEELING OF AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE OF NATO'S NORTH-CENTRAL FLANK. THIS IN TURN WOULD HAVE A HIGHLY FAVORABLE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT IN DENMARK.

HE ALSO EXPRESSED VIEW THAT THE DANISH DEFENSE AGREEMENT HAD SERVED WELL BOTH NATO AND DANISH CAUSE. HE POINTED TO THE CONSIDERABLE PRAISE DANES HAD RECEIVED IN NATO AND IN PUBLIC RECENTLY FOR THEIR UNIQUE DEFENSE AGREEMENT WHICH HAS TAKEN THE ISSUE OF HOW MUCH COUNTRY SPENDS ON DEFENSE OUT OF THE POLITICAL ARENA. THE ESCALATION CLAUSE IN THE AGREEMENT WHICH PERMITS MODEST INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING TO OFFSET INFLATION IS ANOTHER INNOVATIVE FEATURE OF AGREEMENT WHICH HAS KEPT DANISH DEFENSE SPENDING AT CONSTANT LEVEL IN GNP TERMS, WHILE MOST OTHER NATO COUNTRIES HAVE WITNESSED RELATIVE DECLINE IN THEIR DEFENSE SPENDING. BORCH THOUGHT THAT THE DANISH MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND THE DANISH MINISTER OF DEFENSE WOULD CONTINUE TO ADVOCATE RENEWAL OF THIS AGREEMENT WHICH WILL EXPIRE IN THE SPRING OF 1977. HE EXPRESSED OPINION THAT THE PERCENTAGE OF GNP DEVOTED TO DEFENSE IN DENMARK WOULD REMAIN ABOUT THE SAME AS IN THE PRESENT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 COPENH 00010 01 OF 02 030912Z

AGREEMENT (ABOUT 2.8 PERCENT), BUT HE THOUGHT THAT THE DURATION OF THE AGREEMENT, WHICH IS PRESENTLY FOUR YEARS, MIGHT BE EXTENDED FOR A LONGER PERIOD. WHILE THESE TERMS WOULD NOT REPRESENT AN INCREASE IN THE PERCENT OF DANISH RESOURCES DEVOTED TO DEFENSE (WHICH IS LOWER THAN THAT OF MOST OTHER NATO COUNTRIES), HE THOUGHT IT CONSTITUTED A BETTER TREND THAN IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

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PAGE 01 COPENH 00010 02 OF 02 030852Z

12

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1997

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 0010

E. UNITED NATIONS: AS A FORMER DANISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UN, AMB BORCH STRONGLY FEELS THAT THE WESTERN WORLD SHOULD REMAIN PATIENT IN WORKING WITH THE UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS AND THAT THE UN PROVIDES AN APPROPRIATE FORUM TOWARD THAT END. HE THOUGHT THAT ARRANGEMENTS FOR A "RICH-POOR" DIALOGUE COULD BEST BE STARTED IN THE UN AND THEN, IF NECESSARY, BE TRANSFERRED TO ANOTHER FORUM OUTSIDE THE UN (EXAMPLE DECEMBER 1975 NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE ATTENDED BY 27 NATIONS IN PARIS). HE THINKS THE DEVELOPED WEST STILL HAS MANY FRIENDS AMONG THIRD WORLD NATIONS WHO WISH TO WORK WITHIN THE UN TO ELABORATE A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RICH AND POOR COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. IN THIS TASK, HE THOUGHT THAT A SMALL COUNTRY SUCH AS DENMARK HAS PROVEN THAT IT CAN PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND HE STANDS READY TO HELP IN THIS TASK.

F. BORCH'S WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH USG: BORCH POINTED OUT TO ME THAT HE HAD ALWAYS TRIED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT AMERICAN VIEWS AND INTERESTS WHEN FORMULATING POSITIONS AT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS WHERE HE HAS REPRESENTED DENMARK. SPECIFICALLY, HE REFERRED TO THE ROLE HE PLAYED AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL IN 1967 IN BRINGING ABOUT THE ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 242 ON THE MIDDLE EAST. HE CLAIMED HE WORKED CLOSELY WITH AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES AT THAT TIME, NOT ONLY BECAUSE THE UN FRAMEWORK REQUIRED THIS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT REFLECTED HIS OWN VIEW THAT NO SOLUTION OR RESOLUTION IS MEANINGFUL UNLESS THE U.S. IS COMMITTED TO IT.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 COPENH 00010 02 OF 02 030852Z

HE SAID HE PURSUED A SIMILAR POLICY WHEN HE WORKED IN NAC AND AT THE DANISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND CLAIMED

QTHIS WAS RELECTED IN THE DANISH POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST,  
CYPRUS, AND DURING THE EEC DEBATE IN THE SPCNG OF 1974  
CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE COMMON MARKET TO THE US.

2. I CAME AWAY FROM MY DISCUSSION WITH AMB BORCH WITH  
THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS A HIGHLY PROFESSIONAL, ABLE  
DIPLOMAT WHO IN ADDITION TO HANDLING THE TRADITIONAL BILATERAL  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS ALSO EAGER TO BE  
HELPFUL ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES WHERE HIS PAST EXPERIENCE  
QUALIFIED HIM TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.  
DEAN

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